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forces of evil. The agents of the former include the witch and the wizard; and those of the latter, the fortune-teller, the soothsayer, the conjuror, and, in cases of sickness, the healer. Between these two groups of "professional" intermediaries between the supernatural and natural worlds stands the ordinary non-professional man or woman, who, by using certain formulas or more concrete means, can also invoke superhuman intervention.

A person associated with powers of evil, though difficult or impossible to recognize by ordinary means, since he usually looks exactly like any other human being, can be singled out much more easily by his actions, and especially by the results he is supposed to obtain. Thus a successful person, it is thought, is necessarily allied in one way or another with the Devil, or his assistants. A man who has luck in hunting or fishing is undoubtedly in communication with the Devil.[6] A woman who repeatedly returns from the woods with her basket full of mushrooms, or whose cow continuously yields more than an average quantity of milk, is nothing but a witch who is using her unholy powers to her own profit and, usually, also the detriment of her neighbours.[7] Indeed, there is not a wealthy or successful person in the village or town who is not in league with the Devil.[8] A peasant, therefore, who has luck with his crops and cattle most likely receives help from evil spirits; and a manufacturer who makes money from his factory in town does so because he has demons to work for him.[9] Thus, although there exist special means of detection, which, as we shall see, are made use of when necessary, mere good fortune is the simplest criterion.

Among individuals occupied with the black art, the witch (*widma*) wields by far the greatest power.[10] Just as after death she becomes the most feared of evil spirits, so during her life she is considered the most dangerous of the Devil's disciples. The

[6] Kolberg, O. *Pokucie, Obraz Etnograficzny* (Kraków, 1882-89, 4 vols.), iii, 12.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 114. [8] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 229, 232.

[9] Onyščuk, A. "Materyaly do huculskoi demonologii," *Materyaly do Ukrainskoi Etnologii* (Lviw, 1909), xi, 73.

[10] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxi, 280.

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admitted his guilt. The body was then put into its former position, and immediately thereupon it came to life.[19]

Witches form a well defined hierarchy in which four separate grades are distinguished. Those of the first and lowest rank are witches by birth. If a pregnant mother swallows a live coal that has fallen into a dish of food, especially one cooked on Christmas Eve, her child will be born a witch or a wizard, depending upon its sex. A witch of this type has a small tail, and begins her supernatural activities as soon as she grows up. Her association with the Devil having been established by birth rather than by voluntary choice, she is definitely less powerful than one who has acquired her prowess through her own effort. Next in rank and in power is the witch by training, i.e. one who had been trained in the art from earliest childhood by her mother, herself a witch. Some hold that such women also have tails, "but nobody can ever see them, for they succeed in hiding them even from their own husbands." Although higher in rank than the first type, the witch by training, not having chosen her career through her own volition, cannot compare in power to a witch of the third category, one who has allied herself voluntarily with the Devil in her ripe years. Of still greater potency is the witch who has grown up from a foundling girl placed by the Devil himself, through the *diwe baby* (mysterious women), under the care of her foster parents. Within the hierarchy there is constant strife; witches of higher rank assert themselves to the detriment of their inferiors.[20]

Every witch has her speciality, her own sphere of activity which she does not exceed. Thus there are witches of cows (*wid korow*), of sheep (*wid owec*), of goats (*wid kiz*), of ducks (*wid husij*), of swine (*wid swynyj*), etc. Each knows the limit of her power (*znaje wid sebe*), and permits no other, especially one of equal rank, to encroach upon her rights.[21]

The time of the witches' activities is the night, especially the three hours immediately following midnight. Although any night is appropriate, the most opportune times are the nights preceding important holidays, i.e. those before Christmas and Easter, and particularly the eves of SS. George, Onufri, and John,

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 130. [20] *Ibid.*, pp. 111-14. [21] *Ibid.*, pp. 114-15.

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Part II

The White Art: Counteracting Means

The Ukrainian peasant believes that all calamities can be avoided or removed by conjuration, by the use of mysterious concoctions, or by other magical means. Counteracting the work of the Devil and his associates and inducing good luck are the special business of the professional soothsayer or conjuror, but even the ordinary person with no pretensions to extraordinary power can do much in this direction. Without employing the services of a professional conjuror he can, for instance, ward off evil from his cattle, assure himself of good luck in an enterprise, bring harm to his enemies, force a favourable turn in his love affair, foretell the future, and even banish an impending storm from his fields.

Thus in order to protect their cattle from harm, or to alleviate damage already done, on the eve of St. George people fasten brooms on long poles (*wichy*) to their gates as a notification to witches to leave the farmstead undisturbed.[36] The first milk from a cow that has calved is salted and poured into her drinking water. Old horseshoes are scattered around the yard, since it is thought that cattle stepping over them cannot be bewitched. To remove the spell on a cow, she is given a drink of holy water mixed with petals from a consecrated Palm Sunday branch; to make this potion even more effective some sulphur is added. If a cow has been taken sick and the owner does not know the reason thereof, the best thing to do is to "extinguish some coals." The peasant, or the soothsayer in his stead, throws glowing coals into a bucket of water; if they sink, the cow is bewitched. To bring her back to health it is only necessary to spill the water upon a black dog; the malady then passes to the dog, and the cow recovers. So greatly does the peasant fear possible harm to his cattle, that he often refrains from even the seemingly most innocent expressions. Instead of saying, for example, "The milk is boiling," he says "The milk is warming up."[37]

[36] Kolberg, O. *Pokucie, Obraz Etnograficzny* (Kraków, 1882-89, 4 vols.), iii, 124.

[37] Kaindl, R. F. "Zauberglaube bei den Huzulen," *Globus*, lxxvi, 234-255.

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777 The most effective way of assuring oneself of good luck and prosperity is to ally oneself in some way with the Devil. The usual method is to sell him one's soul. A person wishing to do this draws up a formal contract, written with blood drawn from his little finger, whereby Satan is obligated to serve him throughout his life but in return gains possession of his soul after death.[38] One who has entered into such a pact with the Devil can share his benefits with another by selling the latter a lesser devil, who will bring him luck in all his undertakings.[39] A person cannot only buy a devil but also make one for himself. To do so he secures a partly developed egg from the body of a dissected hen and keeps it under his arm for nine consecutive days, even when walking and sleeping, taking care the while not to wash himself or comb his hair and, above all, not to pray. If he observes these rules there will hatch out of the egg a little devil, called *chowanec* (the nurtured), who too will serve him only on condition that he promise him his soul after death.[40] Another way of enlisting the services of the Devil is to stand at a crossways after midnight and call him thrice by name, whereupon Satan appears in person and gives the suppliant a coin (*inkluz*) which always brings him good luck.[41]

Any person, it is believed, can attain to supernatural or extraordinary powers if only he has a strong will, determination and courage, and can hold a secret. Thus one can gain control over hail by stealing a piece of wood from the church and having the priest (unwittingly, of course) read twelve masses over it.[42] A thief, to avoid detection, uses a curious amulet consisting of a human shin-bone emptied of its marrow and filled with candle wax. If he walks three times around a house with such a candle, all its occupants sink into a death-like slumber, and he can steal whatever he pleases with no danger of being caught.[43]

Mastery in any of the arts is attainable only with the help of

[38] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 86. [39] *Ibid.*, p. 86. [40] *Ibid.*, pp. 86-7.

[41] Hnatiuk, V. "Znadoby do halicko-ruskoi demonologii," *Etnograficznyj Zbirnyk* (Lviw, 1904), xv, 255.

[42] Szuchiewicz, W. *Huculszczyzna*, (Lwów 1902-8, 4 vols.), i, 54.

[43] Kaindl, R. F. "Zauberglaube bei den Rutenen in der Bukowina und Galizien," *Globus*, lxi, 282.

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the Devil. A person desirous of becoming a master builder must rise early on Easter morn, stand on the threshold of his house with an axe in his hand, imitate the motions of one building a house, and say to himself: "I am not greeting the resurrection of Christ but am chopping with my axe." "The priest announces that Christ has arisen, but I say that the foundation beams are laid for a house." He then goes to church, and, when the priest announces "Christ has arisen!" he says: "I am laying the foundation of a house. As great as is this day, so great a master may I be!" With these words he assigns himself to the Devil, who helps him thenceforth to become a real master in his vocation.[44] One who wishes to excel at playing the flute can do so only with similar aid.

> Such a person must pay for the instrument as much as is demanded, and, having bought it, carry it home so that no one may see it and bewitch it. Upon arriving home he must dress himself in clothes turned inside out, and then pour brandy or goat's milk into the flute. After closing the instrument tightly, he must carry it to the boundary of two villages, and there bury it where three roads meet. Returning home he must hide himself, so that no one sees him for nine days, during which period he must neither wash, comb, nor pray, but constantly think of the flute, and move his fingers up and down as if playing on it. On the ninth day he goes to get back his flute. Devils await him, playing on flutes and dancing, and the heavenly judges stand to one side and weep. An angel then sits on his right shoulder and a devil on his left; both whisper into his ear until he is forced to follow one of them. When the devils have finally conquered him, they hand him back his flute, upon the condition that his soul belongs to them. After he has emptied the flute of the brandy and washed himself with it, the devils take him with them to instruct him, and keep him until the cock crows, whereupon he becomes a master.[45]

It is within the power of almost any individual to harm his enemies by certain well tested means, almost all of which bear the character of either exuvial or imitative magic. To cause

[44] Szuchiewicz, *Huculszczyzna*, iv, 293. [45] *Idem.*

843 784 789 If a pregnant woman looks fixedly at a person, or for that matter if he stares at her, her child will be pretty or the reverse, depending on that person's appearance. She therefore tries not to look at or be seen by an ugly individual.[6] She also avoids looking at a fisherman, lest her child will have a restless nature.[7] Neither must she watch a horse shaking its head, or her child will be constantly subject to similar behaviour.[8] If, on the other hand, she happens to see a galloping steed, her pregnancy will last twelve months.[9] Upon observing a mouse, an expectant mother must spit and touch her abdomen; otherwise her child will be born with a mark resembling a mouse on its body. A fire in the village may have a similar effect; if a woman is frightened by it and does not spit immediately, her unborn child will have the mark of a flame on its body. Should a pregnant woman eat an apple at the approach of her confinement, warts are likely to appear on the face of her child;[10] and if the apple be a stolen one, the child will grow up to be a thief.[11]

843 Definite signs enable one to predict the sex of an unborn child. If the prospective mother eats her meals with a good appetite, for example, it is a sign that she will have a boy; otherwise her child will be a girl. According to another indication, if the woman is to have a boy large spots appear on her face before her confinement, but if her face remains smooth and white 844 she is sure to have a girl.[12] The destiny of the child, and even 777 of the parents, can be foretold from certain omens. If birth 787 occurs around noon the child is destined to be unfortunate, while a baby born at daybreak will be lucky.[13] The crowing of a cock during birth is a bad omen. The birth of twins presages disaster, *e.g.*, the imminent death of one of the parents or the

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[6] Kolessa, J., "Narodziny i chrzciny, wesele i pogrzeb u ludu ruskiego," *Zbiór Wiadomości do Antropologii Krajowej*, xii (Kraków, 1889) 117; Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 4.

[7] Kaindl, *ibid.*, p. 4.

[8] Kolessa, in *Zbiór Wiad. do Antr. Kraj.*, xiii, 117.

[9] Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 4.

[10] Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, ii, 1.

[11] Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 4.

[12] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 174.

[13] Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 4.

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impoverishment and consequent ruin of the homestead.[14] According to another version, the birth of twins or triplets is a general punishment from God.[15] Since eating two potatoes, two apples, or two plums would result in her having twins, a pregnant woman is most careful to abstain therefrom.[16] A child born before the ninth month indicates that the woman has been unfaithful to her husband.[17]

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The Ukrainian peasant woman, as a rule, goes about her daily tasks uninterruptedly until the very onset of labour pains. The mountainee. woman in particular, owing to her robustness, seems to give birth with an unusual ease and unconcern. Besides attending to her routine work in the house, she is occupied at a period very close to her confinement with such work as milking cows, constructing fences, and pitching hay. Only a woman who is constitutionally weak takes to bed when she feels that her accouchement is not far off. Others often deliver their babies wherever they happen to be at the time—in the barn milking, in the field, or anywhere else. Sometimes a woman goes up to the attic, and after a few moments hands her baby down to someone below and then climbs down after it.[18] Women have even been known to return from market with a newborn baby in their arms and a sack full of purchased articles on their backs. In order to avoid leaving blood spots behind her in case she delivers her baby outside of the home, a woman who expects to give birth at any moment often puts on a pair of men's trousers under her dress when leaving the house.

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Birth itself is surrounded by a mass of practices, again mostly imitative in nature, which are concerned rather with the well-being of the infant than with preserving the health of the mother.[19] When the hour of confinement arrives the husband repairs to call the midwife (*baba*), who is usually a woman with

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[14] Kolessa, J., "Ludowy wiruwania na pidhirju," *Etnograficznyj Zbirnyk*, v (Lwów, 1898), 83.

[15] Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 5.

[16] Kolessa, in *Etnograficznyj Zbirnyk*, v, 83.

[17] Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 4.

[18] Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, ii, 2.

[19] Vowk, C., *Studii z Ukrainskoi Etnografii ta Antropologii* (Praha n.d.), p. 188.

844 obstetrical experience. The first act of the *baba* is to give the mother a generous dose of whisky to ease her pains. Then she makes her walk thrice around the table, opening and loosening all closed, covered, or tied objects, such as benches, shelves, closets, and boxes; this has the effect of easing the birth of the child. This done, the midwife takes consecrated wreaths of herbs and holds them over the fire, to fumigate the confined woman with their smoke. If all this fails to have the desired effect, and the delivery proceeds with difficulty, the *baba* runs to the church and begs the sexton to lend her the girdle worn by the priest at divine service; returning home, she winds this about the woman and the child is then born with the greatest of ease.[20]

A woman usually delivers her baby in either a kneeling or a standing position. At times, when the case is especially difficult, she is led around in the room by two women, who grasp her under the arms. When delivery begins, the mother kneels down upon a cover spread out on the floor and deposits the baby upon it.[21] The midwife takes the child as soon as it is born, and holding it head down, beats thrice with the soles of its feet on the centre beam of the ceiling, so that it will grow up as strong as the beam. She then makes the sign of the cross over it, sprinkles some holy water on its head, and gives it a warm bath. If the baby is a girl, she puts into the bath some honey, mint, and other sweet-smelling herbs, so that it may grow up to be a sweet and pleasant girl.[22] The water of the bath is not poured out until the following morning; otherwise "the sleep of the child will be carried out along with it."[23]

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Having dried the child at the fire, bundled it up, and put it on the oven to sleep, the midwife prepares a bed for the mother at the corner of the oven. Under the sheet she puts some hay consecrated with holy water, and on the bar over the bed she hangs a large sheet to separate the bed from the rest of the room. Before the mother lies down, however, the *baba* takes care to tie a piece of garlic on her chest and to place near her, on the

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[20] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, i, 211.

[21] *Ibid.*, iii, 174; Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, ii.

[22] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 175.

[23] Kolessa, in *Zbiór Wiad. do Antr. Kraj.*, xiii, 117.

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844 784 bed, a knife and some keys, because iron has the power to drive away evil forces.[24]

789 A precaution never forgotten is to light a candle immediately after the delivery; otherwise the baby, not being baptized as yet, would surely be harmed by lurking evil forces. Under no circumstances must the light be extinguished, at least not until holy water is obtained from the priest and sprinkled over the mother, the baby, and the entire room.[25] Besides this essential precaution, a multitude of other means are taken to protect the child and assure its healthy growth. As soon as possible after birth, for example, there is tied to the right wrist of the infant a little sack, called *szkalytoczka*, which contains the following articles: a piece of garlic—to make the child as sharp as this vegetable; a piece of clay from the oven—to make it as immune to the evil eye as is the oven; a piece of coal—to make the eyes of whoever casts upon it an evil glance burn like coal; some dust from the tracks of a dog—so that people will stare at it no more than they do at a dog's tracks. A small wooden cross is likewise hung on the infant's neck.[26] A mother must not turn her back upon her baby lest it turn yellow,[27] or be taken by a superhuman woman, the *diwa-baba*,[28] in exchange for a brat of hers. Nothing in the house may be given away on the day of birth, or the child will be given to sleeplessness. Whoever takes a glance at a newborn infant must spit immediately—to make sure that the child has not been bewitched.[29] Throughout the first night, some member of the family must keep watch, so that nothing may befall the child.[30]

777 A person's destiny, it is believed, is determined immediately upon his birth, at which moment twelve invisible judges convene on the window-sill near the table. Eleven of them pronounce

[24] *Idem.*

[25] Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 5. [26] Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, ii, 4.

[27] Kolessa, in *Zbiór Wiad. do Antr. Kraj.*, xiii, 118.

[113] [28] Regarding the nature of this mysterious woman, see Koenig, S., "Supernatural Beliefs among the Galician Ukrainians," *Folk-Lore*, xlix (Sept. 1938), 274.

[29] Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, pp. 4–5.

[30] Kolessa, in *Zbiór Wiad. do Antr. Kraj.*, xiii, 118.

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777 various prophecies as to the future of the child, but final decision rests with the oldest, whose judgment prevails. These same judges grant the child a star, which shines only so long as he [774] lives; upon his death it falls to earth. Every person at birth likewise receives a guardian angel, whose duty it is to protect him throughout his life. Before starting any new task, and especially when in danger, the peasant calls upon his ministering angel for assistance, saying: "Guardian angel, help me!"[31] Since one's fate is determined at birth, one can do little to change it. This explains, in the popular mind, why one man is poor and another rich, one healthy and another sick, why one lives long and another dies young. It also explains why there are all kinds of children in the world, and why even children of the same parents often differ so markedly.[32]

845 732 A deformed or mentally deficient child is ascribed to the act of an evil spirit, particularly the *diwa-baba*. Such a child has a large head, is always lean, and can never be satiated. With his tremendous appetite he suckles so ravenously that his mother's breast finally withers away. Such a child causes constant trouble, is retarded in its growth and short-lived, and does not reach a stature commensurate with his age until after death.[33]

II. Christening Ceremonies

851 553 While great secrecy surrounds pregnancy and birth, the ceremonies that follow are ushered in with the greatest publicity. As soon as she has attended to the child and the mother, the midwife begins to make preparations for the christening (*chrestyny*), [777] which must take place immediately. A child who is allowed to remain unbaptized over night is exposed to all sorts of dangers. If at all possible, therefore, an infant is taken to church to be baptized on the very day it is born, even though the hour be late in the evening, the weather extremely unfavourable, and the distance considerable.[34] While the father, who takes

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[31] Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 5. [32] Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, iv, 287.

[33] Kaindl, R. F., "Zauberglaube bei den Huzulen," *Globus*, lxxvi (Braunschweig, 1899), 256.

[34] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 113; Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, ii, 6.

a passive part throughout the ceremony,[35] busies himself with supplying the assembled guests with drinks, the *baba* repairs to the village to invite the godparents (*kumy*) to the christening. The number of men and women asked to act in this capacity ranges from a single couple to as many as fifteen, depending upon the wealth and social status of the parents. The most desirable godparents are the couple who acted as best man and maid of honour at the wedding of the parents.[36] A pregnant woman, too, is considered a most acceptable godmother, for a child held during baptism by such a woman is assured of good luck. An enceinte woman, however, seldom consents to play the rôle, since her own child may be harmed thereby.[37] The wealthier and more prominent the godparents, the more desirable they are. If the parents have been unfortunate in rearing children, however, they invite a couple of wandering beggars to act as godparents and treat them with the greatest of courtesy. This, it is asserted, will change the luck of the parents, and will make the child grow and be healthy.[38] For two women to reciprocate as godmothers is considered not only unwise but a downright sin.[39] Near neighbours, too, make anything but good godparents. Since the two families live in close contact, it is almost inevitable that a quarrel shall sometime arise between them, and tradition as well as propriety strongly disapproves of unfriendly relations with one's *kumy*.[40] Contrary to what one might expect, for a gypsy to hold a child at baptism is supposed to bring it good luck, especially in trade and horse-raising.[41]

The midwife approaches the people selected as godparents with these words: "May God grant you health! The mother of the baby has sent me to ask you to do her the favour of holding her child during baptism." If they agree to undertake the function, they either follow her to the house a little later or else promise to meet her in the church at a designated hour.

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[35] According to D. Zelenin, *Russische (Ostslavische) Volkskunde* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927), p. 295, the passivity may be explained by the fact that he is, like his wife, considered unclean.

[36] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, i, 208–211.

[37] Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 0.

[38] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, i, 210.

[39] *Idem.*

[40] Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 6.

[41] *Idem.*

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851 553 guishes the candles, appropriates half of them himself, and returns the rest to the participants, who must light them again in the room where the mother is confined.[45] If the candles are not easily extinguished, it is a sign that the baptized child will have a long life.[46]

851 574 In some localities the godparents leave immediately after the close of the ceremony for the house of the parents, where a festive dinner is served; in most places, however, they return to their homes and go to the party in the evening.[47] The midwife, upon her return, greets the mother with these words: "You have given us the child born; we, however, return it to you [777] sacrificed and baptized." She then places the infant on a black fur coat (*kożuch*), which is thought to bring luck, and hands it over on the coat to the mother.[48]

At the christening dinner the father again plays a most inconspicuous rôle, the midwife and the godparents being the principal [431] actors. Each guest brings presents of foodstuffs, chiefly beans, peas, eggs, cheese, salt, and bread. After a flood of greetings and congratulations, the women give their presents to the mother, placing them on her bed, while the men hand their gifts, usually loaves of bread, to the father.[49]

After these preliminaries, the guests seat themselves at the table. The master of the house serves each of them with a drink of whisky, and the midwife or the cook places before each an appetizer consisting of a piece of meat or another delicacy. The courses served at this meal are as numerous and elaborate as those of a wedding dinner. They usually include meat with gravy, *holubci* (grouts enveloped in cabbage leaves), *pirohy* (potatoes or grouts enveloped in dough), sour cream, *borszcz* (beet soup), and many other dishes, depending, of course, upon the economic status of the parents. Whisky is lavishly provided, and each guest offers a toast before every drink. It is interesting to note that, if the baby be a boy, the godparents,

[45] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, i, 209. [46] Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 6.

[47] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, i, 209.

[113] [48] Jandaurek, J., *Das Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien und das Herzogtum Bukowina* (Wien, 1884), p. 62.

[49] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, i, 210.

*[christening -- Analyst]